

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 156086
ORIGIN SP-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 NEA-10 EB-07 CEA-01 OMB-01 DHA-02
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /080 R

DRAFTED BY S/P:PSKAPLAN/D

APPROVED BY S/P:ALAKE

S/P:PHKREISBERG

EUR/RPM:TSAVAGE

-----063280 060056Z /72

O 060031Z JUL 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 156086

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: APAG: DRAFT CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

1. WE APPRECIATE CONSIDERABLE EFFORT WHICH WENT INTO DRAFT APAG REPORT CIRCULATED BY CHAIRMAN JUNG. WE CAN AGREE WITH MUCH OF REPORT. WE ALSO HAVE SOME PROBLEMS.

2. IN OUR VIEW, THE DRAFT TENDS IN PLACES TO PLAY DOWN CLEAR DIFFERENCES OF VIEW THAT EMERGED IN DISCUSSION AND TO PRESENT WORST-CASE ANALYSIS AS REPRESENTING CONSENSUS OF GROUP. REPORT ALSO SUFFERS FROM ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS. EFFECT OF PRESENTING SOVIET POLICY OBJECTIVES AND ALLIED RESPONSES IN SEPARATE SECTIONS IS TO HIGHLIGHT MAXIMUM SOVIET OBJECTIVES; TO REPEAT MUCH OF SOVIET DISCUSSION IN ALLIED SECTIONS; AND TO SUBORDINATE DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE PARALLEL INTERESTS. IN FACT, FOLLOWING DIS-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 156086

CUSSION OF SOVIET INTERNAL TRENDS, ISTANBUL MEETING DEALT WITH EAST-WEST PROSPECTS (RATHER THAN SOVIET EXTERNAL TRENDS) AND THEN DEALT WITH THIRD WORLD, EUROPEAN SECURITY AND LONGER-TERM ASPECTS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

3. WE ARE ALSO SOMEWHAT CONCERNED BY EFFORT OF JUNG, EVIDENT IN ISTANBUL AND IN DRAFT REPORT, TO LIMIT APAG

FUNCTIONS STRICTLY TO LONG-TERM TRENDS. JUNG PURSUED
THIS LINE IN ISTANBUL AGAINST WISHES OF SEVERAL DELE-

GATIONS; REPORT IS SPRINKLED WITH REFERENCES TO "FUTURE"
AND TO THE 1980'S. WHILE APAG OBVIOUSLY NEEDS TO CON-
SIDER LONGER-TERM IMPLICATIONS OF ALLIANCE POLICIES, WE
BELIEVE VALUE OF APAG WOULD BE DIMINISHED BY AN OVERLY
RESTRICTIVE VIEW OF ITS ROLE.

4. AS WE AND OTHER DELEGATIONS INDICATED IN ISTANBUL,
WE BELIEVE IT IS TOO EARLY TO DECIDE ON A TOPIC FOR THE
1978 APAG MEETING. WE WOULD FAVOR DEFERRING DISCUSSION
OF THIS MATTER UNTIL THE END OF THIS YEAR.

5. THERE FOLLOW OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGES IN REPORT,
ORGANIZED BY REFERENCE TO PARAGRAPHS IN DRAFT. WE WOULD
LIKE TO SEE REVISED TEXT FOR FINAL REVIEW AND COMMENT.
BEGIN SUGGESTED CHANGES.
PARA 1 - DELETE LAST SENTENCE.

PARA 2 - IN SECOND SENTENCE DELETE THE WORDS "LIKELY TO
BE" IN THE FIFTH LINE.

PARA 3 - DELETE FIRST SENTENCE AND START SECOND SENTENCE
WITH THE WORD "BREZHNEV'S" RATHER THAN "THE". AT END OF
PARA INSERT FOLLOWING SENTENCE "HOWEVER, IT WAS UNCLEAR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 156086

WHETHER THE NEXT GENERATION WOULD BE TOUGHER AND MORE
NATIONALISTIC OR MORE MODERATE DUE TO THE GROWTH OF
EDUCATED ELITES."

PARA 4 - IN LAST SENTENCE STRIKE "THEY WERE UNDETERRED BY
THE FACT THAT" AND REPLACE WITH "HOWEVER,"

PARA 5 - DELETE FIRST SENTENCE. IN LAST SENTENCE, DELETE
"THERE WOULD BE LITTLE ROOM FOR ADVANCES" AND ADD
"WOULD BE SLOW" TO THE END OF THE SENTENCE.

PARA 6 - IN FOURTH SENTENCE, REPLACE "COME TO REPRESENT
THE MORE SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO THE REGIME THAN AT PRESENT"
WITH "INCREASE".

PARA 7 - IN FIRST SENTENCE, REPLACE "DURING MUCH OF THE
1980'S AT LEAST" WITH "BUT", AND REPLACE "WOULD" WITH "DO".
IN SECOND SENTENCE REPLACE PERIOD WITH COMMA AND ADD
"INCLUDING, WHERE NECESSARY, REPRESSIVE POLICIES."
DELETE LAST SENTENCE.

PARA 9 - START SECOND SENTENCE WITH "THE HIGH LEVEL OF

EAST EUROPEAN INDEBTEDNESS AND THE ..." IN SAME SENTENCE,
ON PAGE 3, INSERT COMMA AFTER "COUNTRIES" AND INSERT
"POTENTIAL" BEFORE "CONSEQUENCES" AND REPLACE "THEIR" WITH
"SOME" AND DELETE "FUTURE". INSERT NEW SENTENCE AFTER

"LEADERSHIP": "CONTINUED RECESSION IN THE WEST HAS
CURBED EASTERN EUROPEAN EXPORT MARKETS." END OF NEXT
SENTENCE SHOULD READ "THEIR ABILITY TO ASSIST THE
ECONOMIES OF EASTERN EUROPE." IN LAST SENTENCE, DELETE
"THAN WOULD BE THE CASE WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION."

PARA 11 - IN SECOND SENTENCE, THIRD LINE SHOULD READ "TO
SOME EXTENT, BUT THE SOVIETS WOULD SEEK TO KEEP THE
MARGIN OF RESTRAINT AS NARROW AS POSSIBLE." DELETE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 156086

"ABSOLUTE" FROM THIRD SENTENCE.

PARA 12 - DELETE WORD "FUTURE" FROM FIRST AND SECOND
LINES.

PARA 13 - AMEND AS FOLLOWS: "...WERE ROOTED IN NATIONAL
AND IDEOLOGICAL INTERESTS AND WERE LIKELY TO REMAIN VALID
FOR THE FORSEEABLE FUTURE (5 - 10 YEARS), UNLESS ..."

PARA 16 - IN FIRST SENTENCE REPLACE "THE SOVIET UNION"
WITH "BOTH EAST AND WEST" AND DELETE "WITH THE WEST".
FOURTH AND FIFTH LINE SHOULD READ: "MILITARY SUPERIORITY;
WHILE OTHERS CONSIDERED THAT THE WEST WAS FULLY CAPABLE
OF MAINTAINING THE PREVAILING ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST." END THIRD SENTENCE WITH
"NECESSARY FOR DEFENSE."

PARA 18 - SHOULD BE DELETED AS IT IS REPETITIOUS.

PARA 19 - DELETE FIRST FOUR WORDS. THIRD LINE SHOULD
READ: "INFLUENCE WHEN FAVORABLE OPPORTUNITIES OCCURRED."
DELETE SECOND SENTENCE.

PARA 20 - IN FIRST SENTENCE, REPLACE "EXPAND" WITH
"INCREASE" AND REPLACE "THROUGHOUT" WITH "ON THE POLICIES
OF".

PARA 22 - DELETE LAST SENTENCE.

PARA 24 - DELETE - SPECULATIVE CONCERNING NEXT GENERATION
OF SOVIET LEADERSHIP. CONTRADICTION IS BETWEEN EAST-WEST
INTERESTS RATHER THAN CONCEPT OF DETENTE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 156086

PARA 26 - THIRD SENTENCE SHOULD READ "HOWEVER, EAST-WEST RELATIONS REMAINED LARGELY COMPETITIVE IN CHARACTER." (SOME, BUT NOT ALL DELEGATIONS AT ISTANBUL CONSIDERED THEM TO BE "ANTITHETICAL".)

PARA 29 - FOLLOWING PENULTIMATE SENTENCE, INSERT "SALT WAS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE, AND CTB AND MBFR DESERVED PRIORITY. IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT AGREEMENT ON THE COLLECTIVITY ISSUE IN MBFR COULD OPEN THE WAY TO SOME PROGRESS IN VIENNA." IN LAST SENTENCE, CHANGE PERIOD TO COMMA AND ADD "INCLUDING THE ARMS CONTROL WORKING GROUPS RECENTLY ESTABLISHED BY THE US AND USSR."

PARA 31 - AT END OF SECOND SENTENCE DROP PERIOD AND ADD "AND REPRESENTED THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE IDEOLOGICAL COMPETITION."

PARA 33 - IN SIXTH LINE REPLACE "IN MOST CIRCUMSTANCES STOP SHORT OF" WITH "WANT TO AVERT".

PARA 35 - IN SECOND SENTENCE, REPLACE "WESTERN" BEFORE DOMESTIC OPINION WITH "THEIR" AND DELETE "GRAVE" FROM SEVENTH LINE.

PARAS 40, 41, AND 43. DELETE. THIS MATERIAL ALREADY COVERED IN SOVIET SECTION OF REPORT (PARAS 19 AND 21 FF) TO COVER AGAIN PLACES TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON SOVIET SIDE OF EQUATION. WE ALSO HAVE PROBLEM WITH IDEA THAT SOVIETS HAVE UNIFIED CONCEPT OF THIRD WORLD POLICY WHILE THE WEST HAS NO SUCH CONCERTED CONCEPT. WE ALSO FIND EASTERN ADVANTAGES OVERSTATED.

PARA 42 - DELETE "ON THE OTHER HAND" IN FIRST LINE. FOLLOWING THIS PARAGRAPH, ADD FOLLOWING NEW PARAGRAPH: "ALLIED MAIN OBJECTIVES ARE TO AVOID SUPER POWER MILITARY CONFRONTATION; TO PROTECT VITAL WESTERN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 156086

STRATEGIC AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS; AND TO PROMOTE MORE STABLE, HARMONIOUS AND EQUITABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH. MORE BROADLY, WE SHOULD SEEK TO INSULATE TO THE DEGREE POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE THIRD WORLD FROM THE EAST-WEST COMPETITION. SOVIET ACTIONS AND OBJECTIVES BEAR HEAVILY ON EACH OF THESE WESTERN GOALS, BUT ARE FAR FROM THE KEY ELEMENT OF THE NORTH-SOUTH

EQUATION. MOREOVER, THE WEST GENERALLY HOLDS THE HIGH
CARDS VIS-A-VIS MOSCOW AND THE THIRD WORLD,BECAUSE ONLY
WE HAVE THE CAPACITY TO BE RELEVANT TO THE POLITICAL

ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS.
SO FAR, MOSCOW HAS BEEN UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO PLAY A
BROADLY RESPONSIBLE ROLE. THE QUESTION, THEREFORE, IS
WHETHER WE WILL PLAY OUR CARDS EFFECTIVELY, TO OUR OWN
ADVANTAGE AND TO THAT OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES."

PARA 44 - DELETE FIRST LINE. START SENTENCE WITH "THE"
AND INSERT "WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE THIRD WORLD"
AFTER "OBJECTIVE" IN THE SECOND LINE.

PARA 45 - START PENULTIMATE SENTENCE WITH" "SOME MEMBERS
THOUGHT"

PARA 46 - IN SECOND LINE AFTER "DETENTE", INSERT "COULD
LEAD TO TACTICAL MISJUDGMENTS AND"

PARA 48 - INSERT "GENERALLY" BEFORE LAST WORD OF FIRST
LINE.

PARA 49 - IN FOURTH LINE DELETE "AS THOSE INVOLVED SAW
THEM".

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 156086

PARA 52 - ON HUMAN RIGHTS, IS STATED SOMEWHAT TOO
NEGATIVELY. FIRST SENTENCE SHOULD READ: "WE SHOULD PRESS
FOR PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN THIRD COUNTRIES, BUT
THESE ISSUES SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE, ON A CASE
BY CASE BASIS. BEFORE PARA 54, INSERT NEW HEADING:
"LONGER-TERM AIMS".

PARA 56 - IN LAST LINE, INSERT "SOME OF" AFTER "TO JOIN".
END SUGGESTED CHANGES. VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, AGREEMENT DRAFT, POLICIES, REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 06-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE156086
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: PSKAPLAN/D
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770238-1118
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770787/aaaacxos.tel
Line Count: 265
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: fd723570-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SP
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1949960
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: APAG: DRAFT CHAIRMAN'S REPORT
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, NATO
To: NATO BRUSSELS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/fd723570-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009